July 2, 1949

THE Nation

Negro Meets Grand Dragon

An Interview with the Chief Klansman

BY ROI OTTLEY

*

America, Good and Bad

II. Parties, Unions, Press, and Clericalism

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

*

Greece: Prescription for Peace

An Alternative to the Truman Doctrine

BY J. A. SOFIANOPOULOS

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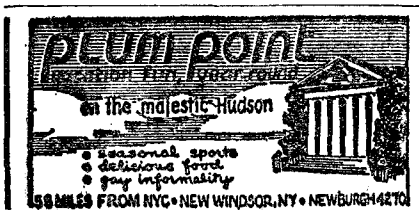
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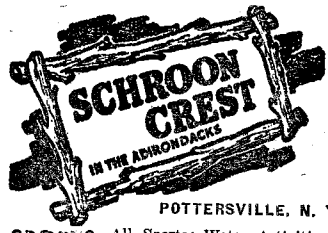

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE DEATH OF THEMISTOCLES SOFOULIS HAS removed the thin amalgam that held together the divergent elements in the Greek government. Sofoulis was a man of courage and honesty who in his old age served purposes he could never earlier have approved. He was used as democratic camouflage over a government dominated throughout by tough, self-seeking reactionaries. By the same token, he helped give a gloss of respectability to the whole American program in Greece; so long as Sofoulis headed a nominally coalition government, our failure to end the civil war, either by bolstering Greek military power or by helping to establish a government capable of winning popular support, was less glaringly apparent. Now that Sofoulis is gone, a struggle among the parties is inevitable. As we go to press, Tsaldaris is forming a government made up exclusively of Populists who represent the extreme right, Royalist position. This move followed the refusal of Venizelos to join a Cabinet headed by Tsaldaris; Venizelos is leader of one wing of the Liberal Party. The other wing, formerly headed by Sofoulis, had attacked Venizelos on the basis of an earlier report that he would accept a coalition with the Populists. The situation demands new thinking and a more dynamic approach by the United States and Great Britain. Before the new appropriations for Greek military aid come up in Congress, we urge the State Department to consider seriously the proposals put forward by J. A. Sofianopoulos, former Greek Foreign Minister, in this issue of *The Nation*. The death of Sofoulis offers a new chance, perhaps the last, to attempt a democratic settlement of the Greek conflict.

*

AFTER WALLOWING FOR MANY WEEKS IN A sea of semantics, the Senate appears to be on the point of making a decision on labor legislation; indeed, it may have done so by the time this issue of *The Nation* appears. Except for a handful—notably Neely of West Virginia, who is bound to support the United Mine Workers—Administration Senators strove mightily to frame a provision that would protect the country against so-called "national-emergency strikes" without calling an injunction an injunction. Some, like Douglas of Illinois, proposed government seizure, in which case union leaders would automatically be compelled to abandon an emergency strike; while others suggested that no specific provision was necessary because the government already had the implied power to handle such threats to the public welfare. Labor leaders themselves furiously opposed the bald injunction provision of the Taft bill, but many of them conceded that some curb was reasonable, or at any rate inevitable. These quietly and privately plumped for the Douglas amendment, which called for government seizure of profits as well as plants pending a settlement. Unfortunately, this middle-ground position was crushed by opposition from both extremes. The way would then have been open to the almost certain passage of the Taft formula, substantially the same as that which is now on the books, if Senator Lucas had not rallied all the anti-injunction forces to another amendment of a pale and watery nature. This would accept the Taft procedure in emergency strikes—cooling-off period, fact-finding board, etc.—but would substitute for the disreputable injunction a mild seizure formula, leaving profits intact. This, it appears, is the best that the Administration forces now hope to salvage out of their original proposal to return to the Wagner act in all its purity. It is notably less than they might have achieved if the President and labor itself had effectively supported the eminently sensible plan of Senator Douglas.

*

NOW THAT THE FATE OF THE POLLS IN THE last election is no longer a source of innocent merriment, it should be possible to give serious attention to Elmo Roper's reasoned explanation of what happened. After six months of painstaking work Mr. Roper and his staff have come up with some important conclusions and the statistics to back them up. What they discovered, in brief, is that (1) lower-income groups are more strongly Democratic than ever and higher-income groups more strongly Republican; (2) that a greater proportion of lower-income voters turned out to vote in 1948 than in 1944, while a greater proportion of the upper-income voters stayed home; and (3) that, while there was no significant increase in the size of the rural vote, there was a sharp swing toward the Democrats in farm areas. Putting these demonstrable facts together, Mr. Roper suggests that a change has come over the pattern of American politics. Until last year it had generally been

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Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Thomas Sancton
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
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Business & Advertising Manager: Hugo Van Arx
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true that a larger percentage of [illegible] people voted than of low. As long as the differen[illegible] great enough, the Republicans had a good chance of victory, even though they drew on a minority economic group. With the shift in percentages that differential has been wiped out, so that the Democrats now attract to the polls a higher percentage of a larger group than the Republicans draw of a smaller group. Which means, quite simply, though Mr. Roper does not say so, that unless the G. O. P. can so alter its nature as to appeal to the wage-earner and the small farmer, it is slated for oblivion. A corollary is that, given no serious shift in the policy of the Democrats, their party can become the natural instrument of a farmer-labor coalition. The hitch is that there can be no confidence that such a shift is to be ruled out. As Mr. Roper points out, the remarkable selectivity of the vote indicated that the increase in Democratic strength was a tribute to the candidates put forward by that party rather than to the party itself. It appears, then, that what happened in 1948 was what we thought it was—a measure of the country's deep commitment to liberalism. Congress take note.

✶

THE "SHEETED JERKS" OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, as Governor Fuller Warren of Florida has called them, seem to have overplayed their hand in recent weeks. In the region surrounding Birmingham, Alabama, after a decade and a half of quiescence, the night riders have come up from under their flat rocks and roamed the countryside, flogging and terrifying a number of citizens, including women, for alleged violations of the Klan's "moral code." For some reason all the victims have been whites, including one navy veteran. This has been too much for the people in and around Birmingham and for Alabamans generally. The state American Legion is aroused and determined to "put an end to lawlessness"; volunteer groups are forming to fight the hooded raiders on their own strong-armed terms; and, most important, the state legislature is on the verge of driving through a bill outlawing masked organizations. At the same time there is as usual strong objection in Alabama to any suggested federal corrective. Since the local anger appears to be genuine, there is for once some justification for the plea to "let us handle this ourselves." Unfortunately, however, the Klan is not confined to Alabama. The "official" Klan, in fact, has been established by Dr. Samuel J. Green in Atlanta, Georgia, and there are outcroppings in Mississippi, Florida, and elsewhere. In many communities the best Klansmen are the sheriff's deputies. Despite their recent assaults on whites, what the "sheeted jerks" really stand for is made clear in Roi Ottley's remarkable interview with Dr. Green, Grand Dragon of the Associated Klans of Georgia, which appears on page 10 of this issue.

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DICTATOR FRANCO'S LOVE OF SPORT WAS never very great, although he is known to enjoy shooting —both wild game and Republicans. But surely he will not want to hear any more about football after what happened in the match between France and Spain just held in France. With special permission of the government, some 7,000 Spaniards crossed the border to attend the game, presumably to cheer the Spanish team and the Generalissimo. Once in France, 1,000 of the rooters refused to return to their homeland. They have joined the Spanish Republicans already in France.

Paris to Washington

AFTER a week of official statements and public analysis of the Paris conference, the balance of feeling is on the optimistic side. Besides moderate progress on certain limited aspects of the German issue and more positive steps toward a treaty with Austria, the important thing is that the Council of Foreign Ministers survives as a center of further discussion and possible arrangements and will again meet in Washington on September 1.

Official comment from the four capitals has varied in accordance with the different spirit in which each had viewed the conference from the start. The Russians emerged the most hopeful of the four. The Soviet press hailed the conference as "having marked an improvement in the international atmosphere and having laid the groundwork for a peaceful post-war European solution." The French press echoed Foreign Minister Schuman, who had stubbornly maintained even in the most critical moments of the deliberations that "Paris would be a step and not an insignificant step" forward. Mr. Bevin returned to London complaining that the conference had been "very long and tedious" but insisting that "the communiqué, though very brief, does open up the possibilities of cooperation once again." Least enthusiastic was our Secretary of State. Visibly worried by the idea that a too complacent mood, resulting from the conference, might delay ratification of the Atlantic Pact and threaten the Administration's $1,130,000,000 program of military aid, Mr. Acheson was more conservative than his colleagues in appraising the results. But even he, and still more John Foster Dulles, the Republican member of the United States delegation, conceded a partial success and an easing of tension.

It will depend on the actions and attitude of both the Russians and the Westerners during the next two months, whether the September meeting opens in an atmosphere of hope or of suspicion and resentment. In regard to Germany it is vital that the damage already done by the division of the country not be compounded by using that division to compete for the favor of the German people at the cost of Europe's security. The willingness of the Russians to end all remaining traffic restrictions in Berlin and the readiness of the Western authorities to cooperate in preventing German sabotage of existing arrangements will be a test of the intentions of both sides.

But in addition to concrete behavior, a change in the general approach to the problem of East-West collaboration must take place if the Washington meeting is to succeed. Mr. Acheson has been much praised by various commentators for his unyielding attitude at Paris. But if September is to mark an advance beyond the Paris meeting instead of a step backward, something must be yielded on both sides. Mr. Acheson should not presume too much on his belief that Russia is on the defensive and for this reason alone was forced to a last-minute compromise at Paris. The preponderance of power in Germany is not so overwhelmingly with the West as this explanation seems to assume. We have on our side the Bonn republic, created with our support. We have the Ruhr and the life-giving flood of Marshall Plan dollars producing recovery in Western Germany at a rate Moscow cannot possibly match in the East. But in their zone the Russians have the only formidable army that for the moment exists in Europe, and by accepting the division of Germany we have insured the continued presence of that army on the Elbe.

We suggest, however, that the September meeting of the Foreign Ministers should not be approached as merely another trial of strength, or even as a means of continuing the "modus vivendi" arrived at in Paris, but as a chance to move closer to an agreement on Germany, without which the Continent will never achieve economic or political stability. To do this will mean yielding several inches on both sides.

Turning of the Tide

IT APPEARS now that we may have been too sour when we wrote somewhat critically last week of President Truman's equanimity in the face of the country's anti-Communist jitters. We still think that where the fever is generated by the behavior of government agencies the President has an obligation to go beyond philosophical reflection. He should lay down the law to those who have made of the loyalty procedures a means of chivvying people whose nearest approach to communism was the reception of Negro friends in their homes. He should demand of the FBI that it throw out all reports on citizens for such offenses as helping to raise relief funds for Russia when that country was our hard-pressed ally; and that it extend similar treatment to agents who make out such reports. But the President's contention that these waves of panic wear themselves

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out by their own fury has perhaps more validity than we acknowledged.

We are moved to this modification by welcome evidence that national sentiment is beginning to turn against the inquisitors, that the craze for routing out unorthodoxy has begun to arouse counter-fears of an extremely healthy sort. In the first place, the Mystery of the Missing Uranium, calculated to put David Lilienthal on the skids, has backfired so sharply that several of Senator Hickenlooper's Republican colleagues, including Senator Vandenberg, have grown discreetly cool toward the whole inquiry. From the TVA area come reports of widespread indignation over this probe and even more pointedly over the stupidity of the army men who found Gordon Clapp, TVA chairman, "unemployable" for work in democratizing the Germans.

Two other phases of the anti-Communist campaign have boomeranged even more briskly than the Lilienthal affair. A list of names carried by the FBI, as revealed in the trial of Judith Coplon, was so palpably fantastic that even Westbrook Pegler found it "possible that an individual will be done wrong this way," though by and large he thought it a good idea. Indignation ran particularly high in Boston, where it was suggested by some observers that if Dr. Daniel L. Marsh, president of Boston College, could be considered a "fellow-traveler," the committee might just as well turn its attention to Archbishop Cushing.

But what really appears to have turned the tide was the decision of the House Un-American Activities Committee to smoke out heterodoxy in school textbooks. To their lasting credit, the country's leading educators have come forward with bold and proper damnation of this brassy effort. Dr. Mildred McAfee Horton, retiring president of Wellesley College, was first to ridicule the committee. Dr. Henry N. Wriston, president of Brown, said it "gravely imperils the integrity of the democratic ideal of higher education." Dr. Ordway Tead, chairman of New York's Board of Higher Education, called it "educationally ominous." Miss Sarah Blanding, president of Vassar, said it "struck at the very heart of academic freedom," and the same view was echoed by other university officials from Bronxville, New York, to Kansas City. President Charles Seymour of Yale remarked calmly, "If the federal government should dictate what books our students read, we had better close our doors." At the same time both his university and Harvard publicly refused to follow the lead of the University of California, which had insultingly demanded a fatuous loyalty oath of its faculty members. All in all, so fierce was the reaction that the committee itself quickly lost zest for the enterprise. Three Republican members openly denounced the move, pointing out self-righteously that they had had too much sense to perpetrate such dangerous nonsense when they were in control. And the Democrats mumbled that they had no intention of forcing the hand of the educators by way of subpoena.

The New York *Times* recently printed a round-up of sentiment on the subject from various parts of the country, and this, too, was enormously heartening. An Atlanta observer found the textbook probe "as completely un-American as anything the committee will ever be called upon to investigate." Reports from Ohio showed a heavy volume of criticism of the press for "printing too much about communism." A Milwaukee correspondent wrote that many citizens of that community feel that innocent people have been "smeared" by unsubstantiated data from the FBI reports. And in many communities the whole pattern of spies and subversives seems to have gone beyond the saturation point of public interest.

With the Coplon, Hiss, and Communist trials still in progress, the role of Communists in American life is bound to come in for still further attention. But with all the gloom we are generally obliged to convey, we are glad to report that as far as this national malady is concerned, the crisis seems to be past, the fever is subsiding, and the basic health of the patient is beginning to reassert itself.

Into the Courts

LAST Thursday, June 23, the New York City Board of Education decided unanimously to affirm the decision of its subordinate, the Board of Superintendents, banning *The Nation* from the school libraries for the second successive year. The decision—not wholly unexpected, to be sure—leaves this magazine with no alternative but to go to the courts to seek protection of the constitutional guaranties of due process and freedom of the press. In order that our legal position should be quite clear, it may be well briefly to recapitulate the undemocratic procedures employed in this matter.

On April 5, 1949, the Board of Superintendents secretly met and decided that the ban on *The Nation* should be renewed. Not until May 19, and then only after Freda Kirchwey requested a hearing, was the decision made public and a casual invitation extended to the editor of *The Nation* and two other representatives to attend the next regular meeting of the Superintendents on May 24. In response to a wire from Miss Kirchwey asking whether the May 24 hearing would be anything but a pro forma performance, Dr. Jansen wrote an astounding letter. Repeating his offer of a "hearing," he stated that since "careful consideration" had been given to "every reasonable argument . . . advanced, . . . there is little possibility of a reversal." Miss Kirchwey refused to be a party to this travesty. Dr. Jansen held his meeting and disclosed the ground for the continuation of the ban, namely the Blanshard series and *The Nation's* "sub-

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sequent justification" of the articles. The hasty announcement by the Board of Education of a public hearing on June 2 seemed to indicate a desire for a real discussion. But after several hours of discussion of the ban on the basis of the announced charges, Dr. Jansen belatedly announced that his board had acted for reasons other than the Blanshard series. No details were given, although Dr. Jansen told the press after the meeting that certain advertisements were also objectionable. *The Nation* immediately demanded a new hearing on the new charges. But this was refused by the Board of Education.

In its opinion of June 23 the Board of Education denied that it had the power to upset the action of the Superintendents. This—in the face of the Commissioner of Education's contrary ruling, the Board of Education's own procedure, and the June 2 statement of a member of the board—makes it obvious that the Board of Education is avoiding a decision on the merits and is abdicating its authority. The Commissioner of Education, too, has taken refuge behind a flimsy technicality, and thus the Board of Superintendents, with its penchant for censorship and its autocratic disdain for the Bill of Rights, is in full possession of the field.

In associating itself with *The Nation* in the forthcoming court fight the American Civil Liberties Union, through its counsel, R. Lawrence Siegel, stated that the Board of Education's decision "should shock every citizen into the realization that intellectual freedom is . . . jeopardized in the New York public schools."

The issue is freedom. *The Nation* has never hesitated to battle threats of authoritarianism. It cannot in good conscience falter now.

Greece: Prescription for Peace

BY J. A. SOFIANOPOULOS

Paris, June

A LITTLE more than two years ago the United States, in carrying out the Truman program of aid to Greece and Turkey, officially replaced Great Britain as patron of the government of Greece. At that time the American government did not realize that the Parliament resulting from the vicious and boycotted elections of March, 1946, was doomed to failure and that to bring about a stable situation in Greece it was necessary to adopt the unanimous recommendations of the Seymour Cocks parliamentary delegation. These were that a new government should be formed which would include all the non-Communist parties not represented in the Parliament owing to their abstention and that new elections should then be held. Perhaps it was the fear that the Communist Party might win which decided the American government not to take the real measure of the Greek people's will in a new election. A better knowledge of Greek affairs would have enabled it to foresee certain victory for the left center and moderate leftists, with the extreme left reduced to its natural, harmless proportions.

I repeatedly told responsible officials of the State Department and members of Congress that the Americans had a unique opportunity, on their first contact with Greece, to prove that they had learned something from British experience. The British had relied on the "die-hard" elements; the Americans could show that they looked to the people. Tempered by the trials of the Metaxas dictatorship and the enemy occupation, the people would repudiate both the rotten right and the perils of a Communist experiment. I also said that American aid for Greece had surely convinced the people that their needs could be satisfied by a healthy democracy of the Western type without resort to the Eastern type of "popular democracy." And I concluded by insisting that any other policy would irreparably harm the United States and cost it both its prestige and its money.

The first reports of Paul Porter, the American economic expert sent to Greece by President Truman, were then reaching Washington. If I was unsuccessful in convincing the persons I talked to that the Parliament elected in March, 1946, should not be considered sacred, I think that Mr. Porter and I together must have made them see that the Populist Party, which had profited most from the elections, was utterly anachronistic and rotten. At any rate Secretary of State Marshall was represented in the American press as agreeing substantially with my views. Although Mr. Marshall did not go so far as to repudiate the Athens Parliament, he said the Greek government should have a wider democratic base and adopt a sounder fiscal policy in order to curb the financial oligarchy which is the real prop of the Populist Party.

The "Truman Doctrine" diverged considerably from the statements of Mr. Marshall and promised American aid to the Athens government. Conceived as an anti-Soviet instrument, it encouraged the Greek right-wing extremists, who proceeded to intensify their massive ar-

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J. A. SOFIANOPOULOS, a leading Greek liberal, was Foreign Minister of Greece in 1945 and head of the Greek delegation at the San Francisco conference which created the United Nations. He is now president of the Union of Republican Leftists.

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rests, deportations, internments, and executions, not only of Communists but of democrats considered dangerous to the government. It was then that the rebel movement, hitherto of little consequence, took on vast proportions owing to the influx of elements which had nothing in common with communism but did not want to be massacred by a government suffering from a fear complex.

THE failure of the Athens government's first attempt to suppress the rebels forced Washington to consider the situation more seriously. The State Department's representative in Athens, Loy Henderson, thought that a government formed by the country's two big parties under the old liberal leader, Sofoulis, could persuade the rebels to lay down their arms. This hope, however, was disappointed, for M. Sofoulis, as it turned out, was under the thumb of the leader of the Populist majority, M. Tsaldaris, who in turn was controlled by the fanatical fascist clique inherited from the Metaxas dictatorship. How could such a government, a mere sham, win the confidence of the rebels, especially after their terrible experiences with a previous Populist government which had criminally violated the Varkiza agreement?

Those were the conditions under which American officials and experts associated themselves with the Greek government in its preparation of the "big summer offensive" against the headquarters of the rebels and their provisional government in the Grammos Mountains. The campaign in the end was a failure. The region was temporarily evacuated by the rebels, but afterward to a great extent retaken by them, and soon they extended their activities over the whole country. M. Tsaldaris was obliged to plead for more active aid from the United Nations at the General Assembly in Paris.

The "mopping-up" operations since undertaken have succeeded, thanks to savage measures of repression, in reestablishing the authority of the Athens government in the south, but there is no evidence that the revolutionary hotbeds have been wiped out, and as soon as the government forces attempt to retire, rebel activity may very well flare up again. In the north (western Macedonia—Grammos and Vitzi—and Epirus) the rebels are again in full control, and any fresh offensive against them appears doomed to failure. Officers and men of the government army are convinced that the rebels are equipped, if only on a small scale, from outside, and that any further operations would increase the number of victims without putting an end to the tragedy. I should like to believe that Mr. Acheson's reluctance to accept Mr. Bevin's suggestion to increase the government forces is due to a similar conviction.

That is the situation after more than two years of the "Truman Doctrine." In spite of expenditures in excess of a billion dollars, and in spite of the moral encouragement given to the Greek government, the rebellion has not been suppressed, the national economy has not recovered, public finances are still chaotic, and there has been little progress in reconstruction.

Total losses, on both sides, in killed and wounded exceed 100,000 men in a civil war fostered and kept going by the rivalry of the great powers. Agricultural production, the basis of the national economy, has dropped to the lowest level. Exports are reduced to a minimum and barely suffice to cover a small proportion of imports, while Greek capital avoids any investment and prefers easy profits in the black market and covering operations in gold or dollars. As for public finance, in spite of the American experts' efforts to reduce the enormous budget deficit by condemning the civil-service and other workers to starvation wages, the revenue is still far from covering expenses. This is not surprising when one realizes that one-third of the whole population of 7,500,000 is living on relief. According to the latest official figures, 705,092 refugees have crowded into the bigger cities and are trying to exist on the meager government dole, 1,000,000 persons are classed as indigent, and 713,000 women and children are soldiers' dependents living at the expense of the state. Reconstruction of course is out of the question. As Mr. Porter said in his reports, when a country is in the grip of a civil war everything is sacrificed to it.

BLAME for this state of affairs must be borne not only by the various Greek governments that have been formed since the March, 1946, elections but by American policy. For the United States, actuated by the false hope of extirpating communism from the soil of Greece, has collaborated with these governments for more than two years, although perfectly aware of their incapacity and corruption. If the United States had helped set up a government drawn from the progressive and enlightened elements, if it had insisted on the application of democratic methods, the rebels would not have acquired any strength and Greece's northern neighbors would not have supported them out of fear of Greek aggression.

The present Parliament is like a brawling tavern; accusations are followed by insults, and chauvinism cloaks the scandal and corruption of a rotten social structure. All the parties represented have had a turn at attempting to govern the country, but no combination has been able to end the rebellion or meet the needs of the people. We have now reached the seventh government since the March, 1946, elections. The members of the many American commissions have practically assumed control of military operations and of the country's economy, but with a few exceptions they have shown such a lack of political wisdom that even the sham Parliament has loudly protested against their excessive interference.

In this connection I should like to quote from the report of the Congressional Committee (watch-dog

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committee) for Controlling Expenditure under the Marshall Plan, of which a summary appeared in the New York *Times* of April 10 last. This report, drawn up by Louis E. Wyman, says that "the Greek government is incompetent, reactionary, and obstructive," that "it is not representative of the Greek people and does not have their confidence and support," and that "these factors are breeding despair and turmoil in Greece." "Many American officials," it continues, "live and act in a disruptively ostentatious manner in a country where poverty and tragedy are on all sides and in a nation of 7,500,000 people of whom approximately 1,800 individuals have wealth and the remainder are very poor." It declares finally: "In many places in Greece whole families are honestly split by bitter differences of opinion as to what is best for Greece. It is important to understand that in this impoverished country American capitalism and unrestricted private enterprise are not alone the answer. Unless the United States is prepared to do the job in Greece on a sound basis, unless it is prepared to insist that the Greek government eliminate waste, graft, corruption, and hangers-on, failure to achieve economic recovery in Greece will persist in an atmosphere of a military stalemate."

IF AMERICAN opinion tolerates such conditions, one may ask whether the road is not being paved for communism in Greece just as it was in China and whether the United States is not bound to lose in Europe and the Middle East what it was unable to safeguard in the Far East. The recent debate in the House of Commons, in particular the speech of Harold MacMillan, a Conservative member and former Minister, is evidence of London's growing concern about a possibly fatal outcome of the present situation unless adequate measures are taken to end the rebellion this summer. The same anxiety was behind Mr. Bevin's suggestion to Mr. Acheson that the Greek government forces be substantially increased. I am certain, however, that the rebellion cannot be put down by military measures. The rebels, although less numerous than the government forces, are favored by the guerrilla type of warfare and will always be able to check any large-scale operations against them. My position is strengthened by Mr. Acheson's reception of Mr. Bevin's suggestion. While the Secretary of State doubtless cited the aversion of Congress to any increase of expenditure, one may nevertheless hope that his attitude is a sign of his own deepening comprehension that a different approach is called for.

I wonder therefore whether American policy is not veering toward a political solution of the Greek problem, out of a growing conviction that any solution by arms is impossible. I would like to believe that such a shift is in process and that the intervention of Dr. Evatt, which I suggested last autumn, if it has not so far achieved any tangible result, has brought about an exchange of views among the great powers. The communiqués of the Tass Agency, the British Foreign Office, and the State Department, all give that impression. These communiqués state the conditions under which each of the powers would agree to cease intervention in Greece. It is true that at first glance their stipulations seem irreconcilable, but I am confident they could be fitted into a practical solution.

I continue to believe that the nomination of an arbiter or mediator who inspires universal confidence, aided by four advisers representing the four great powers, would enormously contribute to a proper application of the great powers' decisions, provided a Greek government took power which was composed of moderate elements, whether represented or not in the present Parliament. Such a government, free of any responsibility for the past, free of any obligation to the present Parliament, which should be dissolved, excluding both Communists and the extreme right, could proceed without delay with its tasks, namely: (1) grant a general amnesty; (2) disarm the rebels and the armed bands of the right wing; (3) prepare the ground for free elections—to be held not before six months have passed but not later than a year.

In nominating this mediator and his four advisers the great powers should, as I have always maintained, simultaneously guarantee, by an official act, the territorial integrity and independence of Greece. Such a guaranty would be most timely in view of Greek anxiety in regard to machinations involving Macedonia.

To refer the Greek question to the U. N. would lead nowhere and would only waste precious time, unless the great powers wish to renew their oratorical joustings before that international Areopagus. The civil war makes an immediate solution absolutely necessary.

I expected that the Greek government would be extremely eager to get its affairs on the agenda of the recent Foreign Ministers' conference. But I am informed that was not the case. I also thought the Greek government would realize that the nomination of a mediator and four advisers would in no way signify any trusteeship over Greece. Paradoxically the greatest suspicion was expressed by the very elements which have tolerated the intervention of a single power in violation of the most elementary notions of national sovereignty. The Greek government refuses to understand that the temporary presence in Greece of this body, composed of representatives of the four great powers, would lead the country to peace and complete independence.

Finally, I should like to believe that even if the Greek government does not realize its duty toward the nation, the four Foreign Ministers, when they meet again next September, will recognize their moral duty to put an end to the civil war in Greece.

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America, Good and Bad

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

II. Parties, Unions, Press

London

MOST foreign observers of American politics have emphasized, what Lord Bryce saw clearly over sixty years ago, that the two historic parties have ceased to provide the electorate with any genuine choice between opposing political creeds. That has not become less true in the period since he wrote. It is nevertheless clear enough that so far no third party has made a significant place for itself in the minds of Americans. Henry Wallace's supporters are unlikely to achieve any permanent integration of their forces. Nor do I see much prospect that either the Socialists or the Communists will become an important challenge to the two major parties. Neither has any mass support; and neither has been able to make its outlook appeal to the trade unions, where it would be most natural to look for approval.

Apparently the trade-union leaders generally have not departed from their purely pragmatic approach to political problems. Both Philip Murray and William Green have expressed their confidence in the power of the American capitalist system to solve the economic problems of the United States, and in this they are at one with John L. Lewis. Whether this attitude is likely to endure for long is not easy to predict. One may guess that it would lose a good deal of its hold if President Truman was not able to secure from Congress an acceptable amendment of the Taft-Hartley act. There would undoubtedly be a large-scale shift in the trade unions' outlook if the United States were to encounter another depression of any magnitude. And deep as is the antagonism of the union leaders as a whole both to Communists and to the policies of Soviet Russia, it is at least highly questionable whether they would support a war against Russia unless, as at Pearl Harbor, there was a direct attack upon the United States and its defense forces. Thus in a sense a large part of American diplomacy is an essay in the conditional mood; its makers carry with them the support of the organized workers only by proving that they do not seek war and that the policies for which they are responsible do not jeopardize that share in the national well-being the workers believe they can fairly claim. I suspect that the fulfilment of these conditions depends not only on the end of the "cold war" in Europe but also on establishing a settlement in the Far East that will give the world a sense of security and self-confidence.

What seems to me more doubtful than American party leaders or outstanding trade unionists would care to admit is the prospect of realizing these conditions in a world where economic power is so unequally divided that, inherently, its exercise threatens to exacerbate both national and ideological differences. I am sure most American politicians have no desire to control the direction of British policy, or French, or Chinese; but desire and reality are two different things. Americans are bound to consider the effect on themselves of the aid they give to others. They will be compelled sooner or later to recognize that they cannot give Marshall aid and operate the Truman Doctrine. They will be compelled also to look at their own position in the international market in terms of that dollar shortage which may well be catastrophic by 1952, unless by that time Russo-American understanding is both real and comprehensive. If there should be no real East-West settlement, the impact on American farming as well as American industry has in it the germs of crisis which may swiftly alter all the contours of the American political landscape. At that point the trade unions would learn how little they can achieve as a pressure group acting indirectly upon the two historical groups.

I venture the guess that unless by then a Russo-American agreement has been reached, democracy in America will be in graver danger than at any other time in the history of the Republic; and it will not be the great business interests of the United States which will reach out to save it. For freedom in the modern democracy is bound up with the existence of strong and independent trade unions. In the last fifteen years the industrial empires of America have accepted trade-union growth from necessity rather than from choice. Were crisis to come, it needs no special insight to see that they would try to effect their own salvation by breaking the power of the organized workers. If the unions were able to hold their ground, the business interests, rather than give up their sovereignty in the economic field, would safeguard their property by what would come to be a frontal attack upon democratic institutions. It is this prospect which makes it so urgent a matter that American labor should

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THIS is the second of five articles in which Professor Laski appraises American institutions as he observed them during a recent lecture tour under the auspices of the Sidney Hillman Foundation. The third will deal with the liberal movement, the threat of the Pentagon mentality, and the promise of American world leadership.

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end its futile division into two opposing camps and scrutinize the foundations of its philosophy while there is still time to revise it.

WALTER LIPPMANN, some twenty years ago, wrote a vigorous defense of the thesis that freedom depends upon the continuous supply of truthful news. That thesis has never had more validity in America than today. The problem, even for the citizen who is eager to find the truth, is to discover its presence amid a loud babel of competing voices many of which are anxious to hinder him in his search. That America has great newspapers, radio commentators anxious to be detached and disinterested in what they say, journals of opinion which take immense pains to show, in the famous words of C. P. Scott, that if comment is free, the facts are sacred, I should not for one moment deny. That all the weighted interests which seek to confuse public opinion can yet fail hopelessly is obvious enough both from the four elections of Franklin Roosevelt and from the remarkable victory of Mr. Truman over Governor Dewey. That Americans have an invaluable habit of skepticism which makes them allergic to much of the propaganda which seeks to make them incapable of thought is plain to anyone who knows them as a people at first hand. Yet never before in their history has the drive for uniformity of thought been more intense or more widespread. And that drive is aided by the confident voices of the highly placed who assure the people that the political scene, above all in its international aspect, is too complex for them even to try to understand it, that only a small handful are really fit to form their own judgment upon the intricate issues they must decide.

No one who knew the United States twenty years ago can fail to be impressed by the high-pitched voices of its propaganda machines. There is not only the fantastic commercialism of sponsored radio. There are not only the endless pages of advertisements in the press, both daily and weekly. There are not only the organizations whose lunches and dinners and lectures seem, nationally and locally, to be incomplete without radio "outlets." I found that radio had become a necessary weapon in the armory of ecclesiastical propaganda; it was a vital medium of communication between the mayor of a great city and his electorate; and even universities were seeking to win publicity and, presumably, support by radio talks and discussions. Alongside all this there was the endless array of columnists in the press, from the solemn dignity and, often, brilliant reasoning of Walter Lippmann to the harsh invective of Walter Winchell and the spicy leakages of Drew Pearson. It was impossible to avoid them; and however skeptical one might begin by being, the constant iteration of a single theme was bound in the end to make one wonder whether there was not perhaps some small core of fact in the major themes upon which emphasis was laid. Not the least formidable of the press's many formidable aspects was its assumption that no one who was even slightly in the public view had any right to an area of privacy which, out of decency, the broadcaster or the columnist would refrain from entering. It became tempting to believe that no one could go out to dinner without having Mr. Winchell at the next table. His ferocity against Russia was rivaled only by Westbrook Pegler's hatred of the trade unions. Mr. Pegler seemed to think that men on a picket line were the legitimate objects of ill-treatment which did not even exclude death from its methods. Others were still engaged in warfare with Mr. Roosevelt; and they obviously had not a moment's hesitation in using against men and women who had been associated with the late President smear tactics as vile as those of Dr. Goebbels at his worst. Their uniform chorus of hate and rancor against all things liberal in the United States made the quiet twist of conservatism which the New York *Times* normally gives to its news seem sober and gentlemanly by comparison. Certainly as I read the daily papers in and around Los Angeles I thought that even Colonel McCormick, like Lord Clive on his return from India, might well be astonished at his own moderation.

BUT what I found of outstanding interest in the realm of propaganda was the immense and arrogant authority assumed by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. That it should take the lead in the hymn of hate against Soviet Russia was, I suppose, natural enough; here it had a range of organs at its disposal which left Professor Sidney Hook no chance of serious rivalry. Nor should one be surprised to find that, in its view, General Franco remained a "great Christian gentleman" without whose friendship the United States could hardly hope to make its European policies successful; after all, in this regard it differed only in the vigor of its enthusiasm from Mr. Bevin and Mr. Churchill.

I found more significant three things: The first was the progress the hierarchy had made in establishing itself as something like an independent empire within the United States. No political party was prepared to risk the hostility of its leaders. Many of the great labor organizations were proud to accept its patronage. Its power of censorship was openly avowed and rarely challenged. Its skill in breaching the wall by which the Constitution separated church and state had gone so far that it attacked without hesitation the decision of the Supreme Court to stand by the American tradition. The thoughts of Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen were reported in the general press with a reverent air of homage which I did not find accorded to the ecclesiastics of other churches.

Not less noteworthy was the obvious influence the Roman Catholic church was able to exert in preventing criticism of its activities from reaching public opinion.

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There was the penalizing of *The Nation* for its audacity in publishing Mr. Blanshard's articles; there was the dropping of W. R. Werner's column from the editorial page of the Paris *Herald Tribune*. Nor is it without significance that for many months now Henry Luce's vast machine has given even minor incidents in the life of the Roman church—whether in the United States or outside—a full and respectful treatment which suggests that his sophisticated subordinates have been commanded to suspend their shining, if brittle, flippancy when they move into this sacred region. All in all, one must conclude that only in Spain and in Quebec has Rome the influence and the immunity that its increasing offensive has won for it outside the Bible belt in the United States.

I Met the Grand Dragon

BY ROI OTTLEY

Atlanta, June 21

"THERE ain't a nigger that's the equal of a white man," declared Dr. Samuel J. Green, Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan. He repeated his statement as a question. His manner was belligerent as he gave me a cold, blue, brittle stare. He clearly indicated what he expected of the Negro before him. He watched my lips carefully.

"I most emphatically do believe a Negro is the equal of a white man," I replied.

The Klan chieftain was visibly shaken. He was not accustomed to having his view of the Negro's status challenged, much less opposed, by a Negro. This exchange began my interview with the most notorious enemy of the Negro, and indeed of progress, in the United States. The interview went on for two and a half hours. What should have been a conversation turned into an argument, because Dr. Green insisted on noisily defending "white supremacy."

I had walked into Green's office in the business section of Atlanta by appointment. I hoped to discover what sort of charlatan was operating this race-ridden organization which hoodwinked poor whites and terrorized Negroes. As I entered, I was surprised by his striking resemblance to Adolf Hitler. Besides sharing the Nazi leader's racial philosophy, the Grand Dragon had the same absurd brush-like mustache, watery blue eyes, slight frame, high-pitched voice, and dictatorial manner.

Eleven men wearing police uniforms were paying their Klan dues when I opened the door. They eyed me suspiciously until Green ordered me to be seated in a rickety chair next to a water-cooler which bore a big sign reading, "For Whites Only." When he had finished collecting the Klansmen's money, a process he seemed to drag out in order to make me wait, he invited me into his private office—a dentist's operating room adjoining a lobby. Away from the critical eyes of his "hooded hoodlums" his manner changed perceptibly and he became more civil. I almost expected him to bring out the mint juleps. But throughout our talk he referred to Negroes as "niggers" or "darkies." He did not address me as "Mister." Actually he talked at me—as white people do with Negroes when they want to avoid using ordinary titles of respect. He frankly refused to have his picture taken with me, explaining almost apologetically that "white people might misunderstand." What he meant was that his fellow-Klansmen might frown upon such social truck with a Negro.

I soon learned that "Doc" Green is a primitive fanatic, without the slightest knowledge of affairs beyond his neighborhood, though he had a professional education. He sounded as ignorant as the lowliest redneck. Perhaps he conveniently refuses to acknowledge anything that happens beyond the borders of Georgia. In any case he knew nothing about Dr. Ralph Bunche, who has won an international reputation for his brilliant work as United Nations mediator in the Arab-Jewish conflict. When I asked him if Dr. Bunche wasn't proof enough of the Negro's equality when given an opportunity to develop his talents and show his competence, the leader of the Klan answered, "I ain't never met that nigger."

I told the Grand Dragon that his theory of Negro inferiority was old hat. I said that scientific thought had long ago exploded his racial theories, that today the whole weight of world opinion was opposed to his ideas. "I'm still livin' in Georgia, no matter what the world and science thinks," he said.

Dr. Green was unmoved when I said that the Ku Klux Klan had given the United States much bad publicity abroad, and had even made people in other countries question the sincerity of America's support of democracy. He didn't seem to care that the Klan is considered America's chief fascist organization. "You'll never get me to recognize a Chinaman, a Jap, or a nigger as my equal," he declared somewhat heatedly. "It's all right to give money to those fleabitten countries to get them on their feet, but we don't want none of their ideas."

ROI OTTLEY is the author of "New World A' Coming" and "Black Odyssey."

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At one stage he proudly claimed Scotch-Irish descent and I used this to drive in a point. He had insisted the white man was superior because he had a longer heritage of culture than the Negro. I told him that in London I had heard an Englishman call an Irishman inferior on the same grounds. "Doc" Green quickly amended his parentage. He explained that he was not "quite exactly" Irish in descent, but really Scotch.

Under a deluge of facts he fell back on the Bible as the source of his racial theories. He declared the Klan was a Christian movement which did not preach hate but based its program on the eleventh chapter of Genesis, which, according to his interpretation, reveals that God segregated the races. "If God wanted us all to be equal," he said firmly, "He would have made all people white men."

Now Klansman Green got down to curbstone conversation. He was immensely tickled by a story he told about an "ole darky" who got stranded in Chicago. The Negro accosted him in the Loop, addressing him as "yo' all good white folks," and complained that he hadn't eaten for days, "'cause white folks in Chicago will let you come in the front door, but won't feed you in either the back or front." Southerner Green rose to the emergency, especially when he discovered that the Negro was "one of ole Bradley's niggers." He collected twenty-odd dollars from friends, then he took the Negro by the hand, fed him "at one of them places where white folks and niggers kin eat," escorted him to the railway station, bought him a ticket, and gave the conductor strict instructions "not to let this nigger off the train till he reaches Augusta, Georgia."

Green made a point of imitating the Negro's dialect in telling the story, explaining that "the ole darky talked real nigger talk." But I must confess I could detect little difference between the dialect of the Negro and his own broad Southern drawl. It would perhaps shock him to be told that he talks exactly like a blackface comedian.

EXPANSIVELY Green offered his opinions about the crucial issues facing the South today. He declared he believed in equal education, equal housing, and equal recreational facilities for the Negro, within the Negro community, but that as a humanitarian he couldn't advocate these things openly, since for him to do so, in view of the "prejudice against the Klan," would be to give them the kiss of death. He conceded that the Negro had a right to vote in general elections but not in "white primaries." He offered a unique solution for the mounting problems connected with Negroes moving into so-called white neighborhoods, a trend which is the chief source of racial tensions in Atlanta today. He said white families should be systematically moved from the areas surrounding Negro slums and Negroes moved into the houses abandoned by the whites. But he was unable to say where the boundary between whites and Negroes should begin or end. He speculated on the possibility of corralling all Negroes into one big section.

Seligson

"Doc" Green

The Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan is worried about the increasing number of marriages between whites and Negroes in the North. While he was in Chicago he saw a white girl with a brownskin child—a dreadful memory, to judge by his expression when he related the incident. He was very firm that "it ain't gonna happen in Georgia." He felt, too, that stricter laws should be enacted to define a Negro: too many Negroes are passing as white persons. He also wants something done about white women passing as Negroes. Recently he stopped by to inquire about the sick child of a Negro handyman, and a blond woman opened the door, with two blond children about her feet. He wasn't sure if she was white or Negro—and something has to be done about such situations.

Green wants Negroes to believe that he is just a kindly old gentleman who desires nothing more than to see his Negroes happy. He told me how he had given an old Negro Mammy a chicken for Christmas. He was hurt by the behavior of Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College in Atlanta. A few months ago Morehouse College launched a fund-raising drive. To show his good-will Green sent Dr. Mays his personal check for $10. The Negro president promptly returned the check with the brief explanation that the Grand Dragon's money was "unacceptable to Morehouse College." For fear I might think him a liar Green produced the check and note. "Doesn't that prove niggers are prejudiced?" he asked plaintively.

"Doc" Green is a musuem piece. He still regards Georgia as his personal plantation, but he unwittingly offered evidence that the Ku Klux Klan is out of step with many people in the South today. I asked him, "Why do members of the Klan wear disguises?" He replied with remarkable candor, "So many people are prejudiced against the Klan these days that members are afraid they'll lose their jobs, their influence in public affairs, or otherwise be penalized if they are recognized."

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Del Vayo—The Strikes in Germany

IT IS interesting that the American authorities finally felt obliged to move against the anti-Communist strikers in Berlin after rail deliveries to the city from the West had been paralyzed for a month. At the beginning the action of the railroad workers was viewed sympathetically by most of the Americans. But as time went on it became obvious that, in addition to legitimate economic grievances, political motives played a considerable role. The strike started immediately after the agreement to lift the blockade was reached in New York and when the reestablishment of normal traffic into Berlin seemed assured. If the conference of the four Foreign Ministers at Paris was to open in an atmosphere of amity, tension in the former German capital should have been allowed to die down. Instead, bad feeling was continued, progress at Paris was hindered, and at one moment the conference seemed about to break up on this issue.

The demands of the railroad workers, chief of which was payment of wages in Western marks, had been partially met through a compromise proposed by General Howley and supported by the mayor of western Berlin. This offer was rejected by a vote of 12,626 to 2,085, partly because the Russians had failed to guarantee against reprisals. After the Paris conference the Soviet authorities in Berlin made another move to end the strike; General Kvaschnin, the transport head, informed the Western commanders that none of the men would be punished simply for having stopped work; only "crimes" committed by strikers would be punished. He gave his announcement a distinct political significance, linking it to the accomplishments at Paris. While in the United States the conference is regarded as a very modest advance, Moscow treats it as a success. The Soviet press and radio show very clearly that the Kremlin is determined to preserve this atmosphere of optimism until the next meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers at Washington on September 1. General Kvaschnin's change of policy in Berlin reflected the same spirit. But his offer was also rejected by the union, and the American authorities, now losing patience, warned the strikers that they must accept a compromise to get goods moving into Berlin.

Strikes in the Western zones and increasingly violent demonstrations against the dismantling of factories in the Ruhr indicate that the Western powers also are going to have their troubles in Germany in the coming months. The strikes are unquestionably motivated by social unrest. During the past year, since the currency reform, the general standard of living has improved considerably and the shops are full of goods that could be obtained before only in the black market, but the disproportion between wages and prices is still enormous. Unemployment remains disturbingly high—about 700,000 persons are out of work in the Anglo-American zone. The causes of this unemployment are to be found in the disproportionately large number of older wage-earners, the influx of refugees, the excess of women, the lack of housing, and the attitude of the cartels, which see the reconstruction of Germany only in terms of their own profit.

The flood of refugees which since 1945 has inundated Germany is of such proportions that it entirely overshadows the vast migrations after World War I. According to figures published in the bulletin of the Social Democratic Party of Germany there are now in the United States zone 3,364,000 refugees; in the British zone, 5,472,999; in the French zone, 67,000. With each war these human problems become more impossible to handle, a prospect which should give pause to those who think of a third world war primarily in military terms.

The refugees in Germany are a problem not only because of their numbers. They are a heterogeneous mass of Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Poles, Hungarians, Rumanians, Sudetens, and others, of whom a small proportion are resettled elsewhere by the I. R. O., while the great bulk are left in Germany to their fate. Those who have been admitted to this country in recent months as displaced persons provide a sample lot. Many are rabidly anti-Russian, many are anti-Semitic. In general they are reactionary—when they are political at all—and in spite of what they suffered in one war they look forward hopefully to another which would destroy the present governments of Eastern Europe and give them back their former property and social position. The millions who remain in Germany live usually in miserable barracks in continual dispute with the surrounding Germans. Inevitably they constitute a dangerous focus of discontent, resentment, and agitation.

At the same time the German workers are irritated and made combative by being forced to subscribe to the theology of free enterprise that inspires Allied policy in the bizone, despite the British Labor government's timid efforts at socialization. For one reason or another every step taken toward satisfying the workers has been checked. In Hesse a law was passed creating industry councils through which the workers would have the right to inspect the industry's operations, but the military government refused to ratify it on the pretext that a measure of such great importance could not be adopted until the economic and social structure of the German state, then being debated, had been decided. A socialization bill passed last year by the parliament of Northern Rhineland and Westphalia was rejected by the British occupation authorities on the same ground.

Many motives are operating in a strike situation which will undoubtedly become more serious as the year goes on. In some places the workers are, of course, simply striking for higher wages. In others, as in Berlin, their motives are complicated by the antagonism between Communists and anti-Communists. In the Ruhr their mounting protests against the dismantlings are encouraged by reactionary politicians like Dr. Adenauer and the great industrialists who were associated with Hitler.

From all points of view Germany is a terrific problem. But labor presents especially grave difficulties, since its legitimate claims will be exploited by the new nationalism which flourishes on the differences among the Big Four.

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SO THEY SAID

BY TIM TAYLOR

THE editorial page of the New York *Daily News* is a primer for reactionaries. This newspaper, which boasts of the largest daily and Sunday circulation in the country, consistently opposes progressive ideas. One of the tricks often used by *Daily News* editorial writers is omission. Take the second editorial in the issue of June 22. Under the headline "Baby Bonuses; Birth Control" and the subhead "Royal Commission Riding Two Horses" it said:

"There's quite some contradiction in those two phrases—baby bonuses and birth control. Indeed, you might say they were mutually homicidal phrases. If the state is to give bonuses to parents producing more and more babies, it will hardly deal out free birth-control advice at the same time, or vice versa.

"Yet a British royal commission, after five years' study of population trends in the United Kingdom, now solemnly recommends both of these policies to the Labor (Socialist) government.

"Encourage upper-income families to enlarge, says the commission, by cutting their income taxes every time a new baby arrives. Then the commission turns around and says that most married couples nowadays practice birth control anyway, so the government might as well make it official by giving instructions in the best ways to limit families.

"This is going Hitler and Mussolini one better. Those dictators dished out big baby bonuses because they wanted heavy crops of cannon fodder. But neither of them ever urged birth control on their subjects.

"Just what British population problem the royal commission thinks this two-ply policy will solve, we wouldn't know. It is interesting, though, to see the commission try to ride both of these horses at once; and we're more than curious to see whether the baby-bonus or the birth-control horse will win the race. Whichever wins, the royal commission seems certain to hit the turf on its royal, uh, ear."

Notice the sneering tone, the as-any-fool-can-plainly-see type of phrasing, the unfair comparison of the commission's report to the methods of Hitler and Mussolini—and the attempt at humor, snide humor, in the final sentence.

ON THE PREVIOUS DAY the New York *Times* and the New York *Herald Tribune* had carried rather complete dispatches from London on the royal commission's report. The *Times* story was written by Clifton Daniel of that paper's foreign staff; the *Herald Tribune* relied on the Associated Press account.

Headed by Sir Hubert Henderson, research fellow in economics at All Souls College, Oxford, the Royal Commission on Population was made up of fifteen members, one of whom resigned in the course of the study. Among them were an economist, a maternity and child-welfare expert, a professor of medicine, a shipowner, a housewife, a trade-union official, and a newspaper owner. A bunch of idiots, the *News* inferred. Assembled after numerous hearings and investigatory tours, and after consultations with representatives of similar French and Swedish committees, their report pointed out that the nation was in danger of a decline in its productive and military potential and in the intelligence of its people if certain steps were not taken.

YES, BABY BONUSES were recommended. They were recommended especially for parents with incomes of $2,400 a year or more, the bonuses to take the form of income-tax reductions. The reason given was that the average size of families of professional and administrative workers is about 1.6, while the families of general workers are more than twice as large.

And birth control was recommended, too. "Voluntary parenthood," the commission learned, is becoming virtually universal, and it found no evidence that the British public as a whole considers family planning improper. Roman Catholic witnesses informed it that "the Catholic husband is taught, provided the moral law on marital relations is preserved, to exercise self-control in marriage . . . not to procreate more children than he can hope to educate and rear healthily."

But the commission recommended also—what the *News* didn't bother to mention—that cash allowances to parents of large families be increased. At present the allowance is $1 a week until the child is sixteen. The group suggested that the allowance be increased to $1.40 until the child is eleven and then be raised to $2.

In other words, the commission feels that the government, with the future security of the nation in mind, should encourage larger upper-income families, ease the financial burdens of low-income parents with large families, and distribute accurate birth-control information to those who want it. In this manner, the general welfare of the British population should rise, and both production and the nation's future military strength should benefit. A decline "in the rate of increase of British and other Western peoples may affect not only the military security of the West but also the maintenance of Western values and culture," the report said, inasmuch as the population of Russia is nearly four times that of Britain at the moment and the proportional difference may be expected to increase.

So you see the *News* stand that the commission is riding two horses is so much bunk. Typical of the source, though.

No Comment

SACRAMENTO, April 22 (AP)—Sex, at least the kind that's mixed with communism, shouldn't be taught in California schools. That's what the [state] Senate Education Committee decided last night.

The committee listened to Senator Jack Tenney, Los Angeles, say that sex education would lead to obscenity and communism. Then it killed a proposal to teach family relations in teachers' colleges and high schools. . . . Tenney cited the family-relations course that was started at Chico High School some time ago. . . . He said the books used to teach sex at Chico were "obscene and communistic." Tenney is chairman of the Senate Un-American Activities Committee. —From the Los Angeles *Herald-Express*.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Essays and Asides

PURSUIT OF THE OVERTAKELESS

BY GEORGE F. WHICHER

AS THE train from Washington reached the outskirts of Philadelphia, I was thinking of Emily Dickinson, who with momentous consequences to herself had made this same journey some eighty years before. Philadelphia was the city, according to the highly colored story given out by her niece, where she first met the preacher whose spirit answered to her own—

Mine, here in vision and in veto!

—but who could not be hers in fact because he was already married. Out of her thwarted longing for companionship with the adored clergyman came a lyric outpouring which included the most intensely moving love poems ever written by an American poet.

Emily Dickinson's biography was badly in need of clarification. How far did her romance, described by her niece as "Plutonic," have a basis in fact?

I gave myself to him,
And took himself for pay . . .

Surely, not to be taken literally. But on the other hand, could her poems with specific details of time, place, and action be considered nothing more than dramatizations of a devotion never openly confessed? These were questions which I was concerned to solve.

Toward the end of her life Emily Dickinson referred to the Reverend Charles Wadsworth, formerly pastor of the Arch Street Presbyterian Church, as "my dearest earthly friend" and applied to him a line from Tennyson: "Of love that never found its earthly close, what sequel?" Was he, then, to be identified with the "lover" of her poems?

Behold the atom I preferred
To all the lists of clay!

And if so was she assured of his response, or was she merely finding relief in letting her fancy create a dream of wish-fulfilment? The revelations swathed in reticence which the Dickinson family had vouchsafed were inconclusive and contradictory. It occurred to me that Wadsworth's younger son lived in Philadelphia. What could he tell me of his father's friendship with Miss Emily Dickinson of Amherst? On the impulse I left the train to seek him out.

The telephone book listed him as a doctor and gave me the address of his office. I walked the few blocks from Broad Street and found myself in front of a massive stone building, a brass plate beside the door. It was the Philadelphia Morgue, Dr. William S. Wadsworth, Coroner.

Dropped into the Ether Acre!
Wearing the sod gown . . .

The freshness of the April afternoon did not follow me through the heavy doors. Inside was a pervasive, timeless sensation of disinfectants. An attendant took my name and returned with word that Dr. Wadsworth would see me as soon as he had finished with a family who had called to identify a corpse. I sat in the waiting-room.

Because I could not stop for Death,
He kindly stopped for me . . .

A forlorn group of three filed out. Behind them came a tall erect figure of a man with graying hair and strongly lined face. My underthought at first glimpse of him was that I had seen someone like him somewhere, but the resemblance was too vague to trace. I explained my interest in Emily Dickinson, and the doctor gravely led the way to his office up a flight of stairs and along a corridor. The passage was lined with glass-fronted cases crowded with dirks, revolvers, razors, blackjacks, bits of rope, kits of tools, rifles, and sawed-off shotguns. I realized that this was the municipal collection which reporters like to call the "chamber of horrors."

In a comfortable room fitted up with a large desk, bookcases, and easy chairs but still keeping a faint odor of formaldehyde, the doctor lighted the first of a succession of stogies. Through the open door at my right I was conscious of the gleam from the brass handle of a particularly murderous stiletto.

One need not be a chamber to be haunted . . .

I asked a few casual questions, knowing the answers, to test the reliability of my informant. Dr. Wadsworth talked with animation and with occasional bursts of dramatic intensity breaking through his reserve. He spoke of his father's lifework as an evangelist whose sermons, though always quietly delivered, exercised an electric influence on his congregation and with their fervent urgency disarmed the impenitent. Each one mounted to a compelling climax in sheer eloquence of conviction.

Deals one imperial thunderbolt
That scalps your naked soul.

Charles Wadsworth was a man of intense sympathies, impatient of routine, who would cross the street to escape a trivial encounter but was unsparing of himself in his ministrations to the sick and to all afflicted and troubled spirits.

"People clung to him," said the doctor.

"Was Emily Dickinson one?"

He made a slight bow of assent.

"How did your father happen to call on her in Amherst? He had some reason to be in that locality?"

There came a day at summer's full
Entirely for me . . .

"His intimate friend James Clark lived in Northampton. He sometimes visited there. I suppose it is not far to Amherst, and his kindliness prompted him to pay a parochial call—on a distant parishioner. Miss Dickinson may have written to ask him for comfort. So many people needed him."

I got so I could stir the box
In which his letters grew . . .

"He would not have preserved such letters?"

A decided negative.

The picture that emerged, as we

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talked through an hour, was that of a man utterly consecrated to his ministry, happily married and devoted to his family, finding complete fulfilment in his marvelous power to uphold and strengthen the wavering souls of his flock. In such a career there was not the slightest room for a wayward inclination. One could see how Emily Dickinson might idolize such a man, but what could she have meant to him?

"Did your father ever speak of Emily Dickinson's poems?"

"He would not have cared for them. The poetry he admired was of a different order. He wrote poems himself when he was a young man. You see he came of a family, I think the only family, that has given to the world two poets of the first rank."

"Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, of course, and—?"

"William Wordsworth. Wadsworth and Wordsworth are variant spellings of the same family name."

It came to me in a flash that the man before me was the image of Wordsworth in old age, the same craggy north-of-England face.

"My father was not one," he was saying, "to be unduly impressed by a hysterical young woman's ravings."

Capacity to terminate
Is a specific grace.

Once more I ran the gauntlet of lethal weapons, and breathed with relief a freer air. It seemed that my question had been laid to rest.

Next week: Joseph Kraft on "The Modern Temper," by Joseph Wood Krutch.

THE PROSPECT BEFORE US

Someone on Walnut Hill has taken a picture,
reducing the town by distance to design
under an arch of sky whose empty vastness
the ample clouds can only underline.

All that is left of landscape lies at the bottom
of a sea of summer air: the town is drowned
under that sky, remote above the buildings
that in the picture scarcely clear the ground.

Yet when we look at it our gaze goes downward
to the landscape under those intangible seas—
we are intent to mark the South Church steeple,
or the railroad station, or one of the factories,

Willowbrook Park, or the highway off to Boston.
We are restless always until we identify
what we have known from another plane and angle.
A curious agitation drives the eye

to furnish the ego at once with reassurance,
establish bearings, prove our knowledge, find
here in a scene grown suddenly unfamiliar
some foothold for the orphaned anxious mind.

We must touch the earth, must seek a mortal solace,
must find ourselves, our own, our known, in the crowd,
before we can face the old inhuman spaces
above, before we can turn toward sky and cloud.

CONSTANCE CARRIER

A Comedy of Truths

TWO WORLDS AND THEIR WAYS. By Ivy Compton-Burnett. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

IVY COMPTON-BURNETT has been compared—to list only a few names—with Jane Austen, Ronald Firbank, Richard Hughes, Angela Thirkell, and Evelyn Waugh. Such multiplicity indicates some confusion over what constitutes the peculiar excellence of her fiction. Like these writers, she is entertaining, witty, crisp, and ironic. More to the point, her novels are in the great tradition of high comedy. Her pictures of a complex and seemingly well-ordered society are remarkably amusing, but her central preoccupation is with the nightmare which lies under these urbane late Victorian surfaces. Out of this dichotomy she constructs various and subtle patterns. Reading her, one feels always some imperative of passion and an austere intelligence which demanded these almost apocalyptic formulations.

"Two Worlds and Their Ways" is the second of her eleven novels to be published in this country. As in last summer's "Bullivant and the Lambs," the mannered and talkative processional of her characters as they approach total disenchantment is never cluttered. She has no time for the mere furnishings of the novel. The basic verities of human experience and the radical problems of human conduct are too pressing. Only after some figuring can the action be established as occurring in 1895.

Of the milieu, an English country house and two schools, there is given only such information as a schoolmistress's remark that the view from the Shelleys' dining-room window is like a Constable landscape, "though not a very early one." The qualification is important, a small and precise detail in the midst of an otherwise generalized canvas. "Two Worlds and Their Ways" is no period piece.

But these worlds, home and school, are wonderfully sharp and detailed so far as the relations between human beings go. The action is simple and rigidly schematized. Offstage, somewhat as in a Greek tragedy, there are fearful complexities which, considering the history of British eccentricity, are not so improbable as one may think. Sir Roderick Shelley and his wife, Maria, who have granted their children affection and denied them love, send them away to different schools. The children behave identically. Feeling that they must excel for their parents' sake, they cheat, are found out, and their sins are reported at home. It then emerges that their elders, either for excellent reasons or out of simple carelessness, have sinned in really grievous ways. Their mother is a thief; their father has also sired the family butler; their half-brother is involved in a relationship at once homosexual and incestuous.

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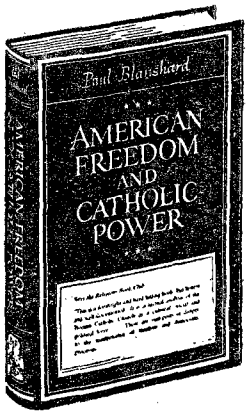

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The calculable virtues of these characters are a moral awareness and a capacity for verbalizing that awareness abundantly. It is this capacity, indeed, that makes for the heady atmosphere of Miss Compton-Burnett's fiction, with its total disregard of everyday notions of the amenities of discourse. These people are forever talking in the presence of the servants. They communicate with one another perfectly. But there is a paradox here, for successful communication is not really of much use. There is as much truth-telling at the beginning of the novel when evil lies everywhere concealed as at its end when accident has laid everything bare.

Miss Compton-Burnett is fascinated by the clash of opposites: parents and children, home and school, servants and masters, truth and falsehood. The clash is never simple. Although the family is a monster it is by no means an entirely bad monster. "My dear good wife!" "My dear little son!" These exclamations recur like a leit-motiv. Only part of the time are they intended as irony. The basic but by no means simple verity of this novel is that the truth will out—all of it and in its most embarrassing and painful form. Once it is out it can hardly be said that matters are improved. But it has been demonstrated that compassion is a virtue to be learned and practiced, and that it is necessary, if life is to be endured, to view people and circumstances in a dry light. There is no hope. There is, however, moral obligation. Dry light, alone, is not enough. Two conversations toward the end of the novel clarify this point. "Have you anything more to say?" Sir Roderick asks his wife, after she has told him that she knows that the butler is his son:

"Only a little more. But more would occur to me, as I said it. So perhaps it is better not said. We know the truth about each other, and know there was no excuse for it. And that must be enough."

And the victimized but never innocent children conclude upon their experiences at school and at home:

"Well, anyhow we have nothing to dread now," said Sefton. "Everything seems to be over."
"That is what it is. There is nothing left. Nothing good, nothing bad, nothing to dread, nothing to hope for. Nothing."

ERNEST JONES

James's Ghosts

THE GHOSTLY TALES OF HENRY JAMES. Edited with an Introduction by Leon Edel. Rutgers University Press. $5.

JAMES'S obsession with the dead inspired some of his greatest work. A few of his least rewarding tales also revolve around the same theme. It is a disadvantage of "The Ghostly Tales" that it includes such masterpieces as The Turn of the Screw and The Beast in the Jungle with insubstantial performances like Maud-Evelyn and Nona Vincent, stories that are simply dead in themselves.

One cannot therefore read with pleasure all the stories in the book. But no one who is interested in James can fail to be impressed by the editorial comment that envelops the stories. Mr. Edel, who is said to be at work on a definitive biography of James, is deeply learned in the facts of the novelist's life, the ways of his intricately associative mind, the history of his literary themes. Indeed, "The Ghostly Tales" is itself a kind of episodic biography of James in the light of his concern with extraordinary phenomena, a concern which Mr. Edel traces ultimately to the visionary and neurotic experiences of the James family, including the novelist himself.

It is true that the biographical passion works to the exclusion of the critical sense in Mr. Edel, who is rarely moved to discriminate among James's successes and failures. Occasionally, too, it seems to be at odds with common sense, as when Mr. Edel ascribes a certain tale to the influence of Poe, whom James is declared to have approached through Baudelaire, although it is admitted that James at the time rather disliked both Poe and Baudelaire! But time and again Mr. Edel justifies his ingenuities by some wonderful bit of insight or information. For example, his notes on Owen Wingrave refer to a little-known exchange of letters between James and Shaw on the very subject of ghosts. It is not only a clash of two notable minds but a clash of two generations. "No man who doesn't believe in ghosts ever sees one," scoffed Shaw. "You simplify too much," James replied.

F. W. DUPEE

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Faceless Hero

THE HERO WITH A THOUSAND FACES. By Joseph Campbell. Pantheon Books. $4.

THE study of myth continues to be the least rational of the humanities. Joseph Campbell, coauthor of "A Skeleton Key to Finnegans Wake," now comes forward with an amiably befuddled volume the purpose of which is to discover the "secret" truths concealed in the myths and to apply these truths to our desperate modern situation.

The author speaks with many tongues, and his reader must be prepared for resounding Toynbeean-Biblical language ("And where we had thought to find an abomination, we shall find a god . . . where we had thought to be alone, we shall be with all the world"), for Joycean word-play ("Full circle, from the tomb of the womb to the womb of the tomb, we come"), and even, it seems, for the language of Thurber ("No man can return from such [spiritual] exercises and take very seriously himself as Mr. So-and-so of Such-and-such a township, U. S. A.—Society and duties drop away. Mr. So-and-so, having discovered himself big with man, becomes indrawn and aloof").

"The Hero with a Thousand Faces" is a distinctly modern kind of book, which might be called the *oracular anthology* and which would surely give the chill horrors to, let us say, David Hume. The method of this kind of book is to string upon one or two all-embracing principles an incredible number of truth-telling quotations from the world's literature. As on one of Toynbee's pages we are likely to read passages from Housman, Heraclitus, Whitman, Gerald Heard, Job, Lucretius, and Field Marshal Smuts, so on page 26 of Mr. Campbell's book our attention is called to Gilbert Murray, Aristotle, Joyce, Robinson Jeffers, and Euripides. It is a sort of persuasion by roll call. And before long, overwhelmed also by the testimonials of mythical multitudes, including the serpent Kheti, Sargon, Ishtar, Jesus, Conchobar, Blood Clot Boy, and Mr. So-and-so, the reader feels as if he were attending a congress of occult World Federalists.

Mr. Campbell wishes us to abandon scientific thought and search into our unconscious minds for the hidden symbols of universal truth which are dormant there and which, he says, have always been the substance of myth. He wishes us to stop being individuals and nationals, and offers the remarkable opinion that in past times when the great mythologies flourished, "all meaning was in the group, in the anonymous forms, none in the self-expressive individual; today no meaning is in the group —none in the world: all is in the individual." It is hard to see the relationship of this statement to our modern condition, in which so many great forces smother individual meaning. Nor, starting from such a fallacious point of view, can we hope to transmute our modern ways of life so as to foster the substantial virtues of cultural and sacramental, as opposed to conventional and totalitarian, experience.

Some mythologists have supposed that myth is a kind of primitive science which had to remain imperfectly cogent because the language of the primitive myth-makers was imperfect—that is, metaphorical and symbolic. Other mythologists have supposed that myth is not imperfect science but the high wisdom of the nobler races who trod the earth in ages before the present degenerate humanity and who, in the sublime accents of poetic seercraft, spoke a symbolic language which we can now only with difficulty understand. Mr. Campbell very interestingly demonstrates the up-to-date technique of this second group of mythologists. He uses psychoanalysis, and in a way which the analysts, including Freud, have unfortunately seemed to sanction. Mr. Campbell equates dreams with myths (true, he modifies this equation, but he does not grasp the decisive implication of what he says). In Freud's words, a dream has a manifest content and a latent content. We easily perceive the manifest content of the dream, but we must look behind it for the real meaning. So, says Mr. Campbell, with myths. But Freud himself was cautious in these matters, as in so many others, and though Mr. Camp-

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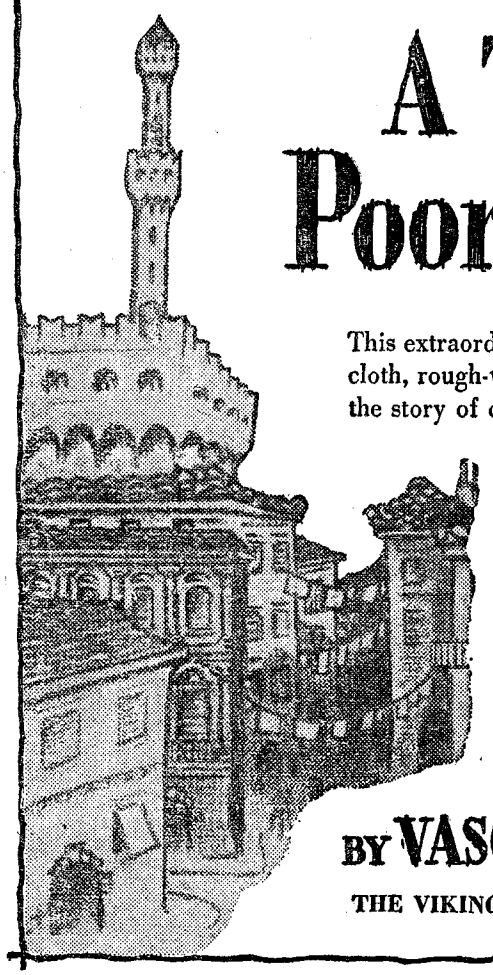

This extraordinary novel is cut from honest cloth, rough-woven and richly colored. It is the story of one small Florentine alleyway, where workers, shopkeepers, crooks and prostitutes live and labor, scheme and love, and where four young girls still manage to find romance. It is tender, yet fiercely forthright; it is filled with the bright promise that illumines even the back alleys of the human spirit. $3.50

BY VASCO PRATOLINI

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bell begins with a quotation from the master, he is soon in the misty mid-regions of Jung and kindred spirits of all ages.

Now there is a momentous analogy between the Oedipus myth and the dream of a man that one day he was shingling the roof, dropped his hammer on his father's head, killed him, and was comforted by his mother. Dreams are collections of fragmentary private symbols which can often be interpreted by clinical analysis. But a myth! What is it if not an artistic construction, a piece of literature operating in the open air, controlled by the conscious minds of poets, mirroring the individual or society which produced it, and bearing strongly upon the intellectual, moral, and cultural life of man? I see no reason for studying myth at a lower rate of expectancy, since any other approach inevitably reduces myth to a fragment of its whole possibility—whether we think of myth as the ritual of the dying god, the mirror of the "white goddess," or, with Mr. Campbell, the iconography of the hero who, in Toynbee's words, "withdraws and returns" in order to achieve spiritual transfiguration and save his people.

Mr. Campbell has adopted here a suggestive way of studying myth, no doubt about that. But every time one of his mythical heroes is about to complete his spiritual ordeal, a fog bank of World Federalism, or something of the sort, creeps in, and Theseus and all his thousand peers begin to look like Mr. So-and-so, the occultist's Common Man, "perfected, unspecific, universal man." Despite their frequently heroic mood and wish-fulfilling function, myths are enormously apt at celebrating, and even defining, the limiting contingencies of life. To search for truth by abolishing the contingencies is to be a good deal less cogent than the myths.

As Mr. Campbell says, our liberal culture could benefit by paying closer attention to myth, could, in fact, be instructed in the nature of reality. But most of our mythologists could benefit by more faithfully cultivating the Western tradition of rational and humane attention to life and letters.

RICHARD CHASE

Gold Rush Centenary

THE '49ERS. By Evelyn Wells and Henry C. Peterson. Doubleday and Company. $3.

SEA ROUTES TO THE GOLDFIELDS. By Oscar Lewis. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

JOHN SUTTER, RASCAL AND ADVENTURER. By Marguerite Eyer Wilbur. Liveright Publishing Corporation. $3.50.

GOLD RUSH. THE JOURNALS, DRAWINGS, AND OTHER PAPERS OF J. GOLDSBOROUGH BRUFF, APRIL 2, 1849-JULY 20, 1851. Edited by Georgia Willis Read and Ruth Gaines. Columbia University Press. $10.

THESE four books are a product of the current centenary of the California gold rush. "The '49ers" and "Sea Routes to the Goldfields" (the Cape Horn voyage and the Panama passage) are competent pieces of Americana based on a study of letters and diaries, from which they quote extensively. Marguerite Wilbur's "John Sutter" is a fictionalized biography, as inept as the average of its species. The gold rush figures in these three contributions as a picturesque antique, and they are a less penetrating interpretation of its spirit than the rash of Pyramid Clubs, also sweeping east from California, with which the muse of history herself has seen fit to commemorate the hundreth anniversary of the greatest of all get-rich-quick manias. J. Goldsborough Bruff is another story. This edition of his journals is a reissue in one volume —with the omission of his early diaries and some abbreviation of the elaborate editorial notes, but with fresh information on persons and routes—of the two-volume edition of 1944, now out of print.

After two years at West Point and a spell at sea before the mast, Bruff settled in Washington as a draftsman in the government service—"Gold Rush" reproduces liberally the pencil sketches with which he illustrated the notes of his Western excursion. In '49 he successfully took a company to California by the overland route, spent a winter in the Sierras guarding the stock while his men dispersed to the mines, and did some exploring among the playa lakes in the northern section of the Great Basin. In so far as it involved the continental crossing, the gold rush takes on genuinely saga-like proportions, and Bruff's journal, with its author's knack for incisive expression and his painstaking collection and evaluation of trail data, is one of the best records of this classic American adventure.

HOWARD N. DOUGHTY, JR.

Books in Brief

PROWLING RUSSIA'S FORBIDDEN ZONE. By Werner Knop. Knopf. $2.75. An interesting account of life in the Russian zone of Germany by a German-born British citizen who at considerable risk crossed the boundary in May, 1948, disguised as a workman and spent two months investigating conditions. His conclusions are that "the Russian zone is drained and scraped empty. Unemployment is sharply on the increase. Popular discontent has made it necessary for the Russians

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4 WORKERS look at Europe
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to pull the reins of terror and persecution tighter and tighter. The rulers of the Kremlin therefore have powerful reasons why they should wish for a united Germany—a Germany, that is, united under their deadly control."

MUST WE HIDE? By R. E. Lapp. Addison-Wesley Press. $3. A book about bombing in general and the A-bomb in particular. It analyzes the direct and indirect effects of atom bombing and the probable course and results of an atom war, and suggests counter steps to minimize the damage. A coolly factual presentation, illuminating rather than alarming.

IN THE LAND OF JIM CROW. By Ray Sprigle. Simon and Schuster. $2.50. The experiences of a reporter for the Pittsburgh *Post Gazette* who traveled through the deep South disguised as a Negro. This is "crusading" journalism —naive, overemotional, but with real impact as a record of how it feels for a Northerner to be subjected to the tragic injustice as well as the absurdities and inconsistencies of jimcrowism.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

MOZART'S Serenade K.388 for wind instruments seemed to me a minor work when I heard it years ago; but more recently, listening to his transcription of it for strings, the Quintet K.406, I have come to appreciate its stature and power. The performances I have heard have been the superb ones by the Budapest Quartet and Milton Katims, who have now recorded the work for Columbia. On standard shellac records (MM-830, $4.15) the sound is unpleasantly sharp; the LP version I haven't yet heard.

Two more of Mozart's sonatas for violin and piano, K.302 and 306, performed by Schneider and Kirkpatrick on the violin and harpsichord, have been issued by Columbia on standard records (MM-811, $5.20) and, together with the previously issued sonatas, on LP (SL-52, $9.70). I find the first movement of K.302 uninteresting, the second only moderately interesting; and Kirkpatrick's pounding and clatter don't help any. But the first two movements of K.306 are very fine; and Schneider's superb playing seems to have a quieting effect on Kirkpatrick. The sound on LP is less unpleasantly sharp than on standard, but not really good.

An outstanding chamber-music release is the English Decca recording (EDA-104, $13.65) of Schubert's beautiful Octet Opus 166 for strings and winds played by the Vienna Octet. The horn is no Mason Jones, but the clarinet is remarkably good; more important is the fact that the group are first-rate ensemble musicians who achieve a performance of the utmost ensemble subtlety and finish. And the recorded sound has all the Decca spaciousness and clarity, with the Decca edge on the violin sound.

RCA Victor's contribution is Beethoven's Quartet Opus 18 No. 4 played by the Paganini Quartet with spirit, musical understanding, and ensemble precision, but without the sensuous tonal beauty one has heard from other groups (DM-1308, $4.75).

On a Victor single disc (12-0924) are three fine songs by Dowland—"Flow, My Tears," "Shall I Sue?", "Now Cease My Wandering Eyes"—well sung by Aksel Schiotz. On a Columbia single (72754-D) is an arrangement of Mozart's Variations on "Ah, vous dirais-je, maman," sung by Lily Pons in some indistinguishable language and with inaccuracy in florid passages. And on a Decca single (K-2135, $2.10) are Handel's "Ombra mai fù," beautifully sung by Kathleen Ferrier, contralto, and "Where'er You Walk," beautifully sung by Richard Lewis, tenor —both with the London Symphony under Sargent.

Columbia has issued a number of Chopin's Mazurkas, including some of the best, played by Maryla Jonas with her usual extremes of tempo and dynamics. The sound comes off the standard records (MM-810, $4.15) with metallic brightness and insufficient bass, and with noise from the surfaces; on LP (ML-2036) it is more solid and less metallic.

Two piano pieces by Liszt that I don't care for are at hand: "Les Jeux d'eaux à la Villa d'Este," well played by Iturbi (Victor 12-0921), and Ricordanza," well played by Petri (Columbia 72792-D).

CONTRIBUTORS

GEORGE F. WHICHER, professor of English at Amherst College, is the author of "This Was a Poet," a critical biography of Emily Dickinson.

F. W. DUPEE, who teaches at Columbia University, is at work on a critical biography of Henry James, Jr.

RICHARD CHASE is the author of "Quest for Myth."

HOWARD N. DOUGHTY, JR., is working on a biography of Francis Parkman for the American Men of Letters series.

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Letters to the Editors

What Is a Man's Life Worth?

Dear Sirs: On June 20 Justice Ernest Hammer of the New York Supreme Court denied a writ of habeas corpus to Clarence Jackson, a Negro fugitive from a Georgia chain gang. The suit in Jackson's behalf was instituted by the Workers' Defense League and the legal argument was presented by Curtis F. McClane, volunteer attorney for the W. D. L.

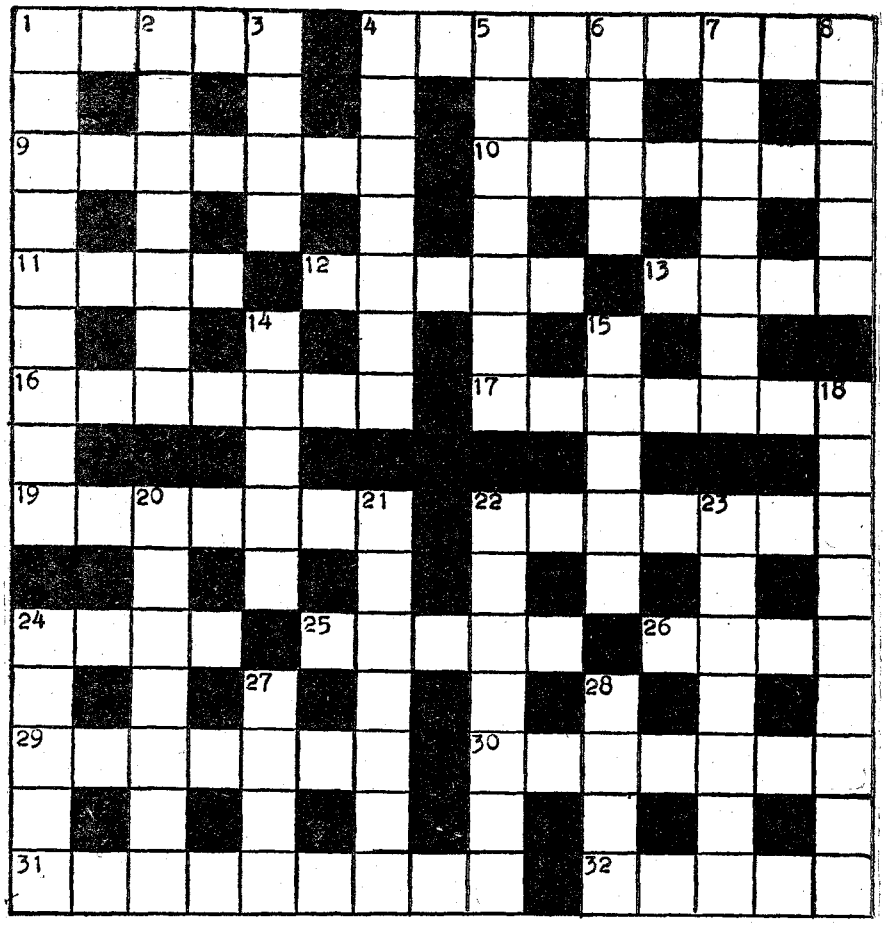
Admittedly, Jackson has a bad record. His first experience in the Georgia prison system came at the age of fifteen, and since that time he has had little opportunity to discover the ways of a free man—if any Negro can be considered free in the sovereign state of Georgia.

In the course of the testimony before Judge Hammer it was brought out that Jackson was last arrested in Georgia on what seemed very weak grounds—so weak, indeed, considering what is required as evidence in most American courts, that the case should have been thrown out immediately by the court. The fact that Jackson in his New York hearing showed extraordinary courage in nailing the lie to his former white captors should have made those responsible for justice in the North hesitate to send him back to the chain gang. More than this, Jackson exhibited shackle and chain marks on his legs and swore before Judge Hammer that his right arm had been broken and his left eye blinded by prison guards in Georgia; he further testified that his life had been threatened because he knew the names of those responsible for the death of another Negro inmate, whom he (Jackson) was forced to help bury. He was repeatedly warned, he says, to keep his mouth shut if he knew what was good for him.

The state of Georgia took the unprecedented step of sending to the trial its Solicitor General, Paul Webb, and several assistants, as well as the head of the Georgia Grand Jury Association and the warden of one Georgia prison. All swore that the state's penal system had recently undergone revolutionary reform. Mr. Webb described the new paradise—clean sheets, roast beef, barbecues, etc. [In a New York *Post* interview by Ted Poston on June 22 Jackson was quoted as saying, "Hell, I was the cook, and even the guards didn't get no roast beef. We prisoners

Crossword Puzzle No. 317

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Press half of the guimpe, less when no estimate is used. (5)
4 and 13. Just one out of many found on tails. (1, 8, 4)
9 Margaret, like you and me, is a high-flyer. (7)
10 Bob hangs out with professionals, and covers up for the eleven. (7)
11 See 12. (4)
12 Its 11 is 29's head, rather than 10. (5)
13 See 4.
16 For these, either struggle or wait until next week. (7)
17 A gentle man sometimes has such manners! (7)
19 So much French spirit as might befit. (7)
22 Precise form of instructions. (7)
24 and 28. So like what cowards lack! (8)
25 Put out? (5)
26 Shackle that sounds in the groove? (4)
29 Big case for party heads? (7)
30 A form of protein—$C_8H_{15}NO$. (7)
31 Sunlight in the doorway? (9)
32 Facilitates how a Sailor presents a bow to a Wave? (5)

DOWN

1 Bring in the little critter—it's of some consequence. (9)
2 Years to sow, perhaps, for the birds. (7)
3 and 21. The offense of James Y. Steel? (4, 7)
4 Holmes said to tear down one of these. (7)
5 Smile so, when agile. (7)
6 It should be easy to find the track of this bird. (4)
7 A flower—and a big one at that. (7)
8 Stalk around a sort of propeller. (5)
14 It makes one slip after another, but sounds spritely. (5)
15 Omaha, for example, transplanted to foreign shores. (5)
18 Insipid. (9)
20 and 23. It involves atoms when ships run a cycle. (7, 7)
21 See 3.
22 A detailed account of a musical performance? (7)
23 See 20.
24 A full Colonel, perhaps, in the air forces. (5)
27 The home of 6. (4)
28 See 24 across.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 316

ACROSS:—1 IMPORTUNATE; 9 BLACKING; 10 IMAGES; 11 IMPAIRS; 12 GENERAL; 14 ASTERN; 15 THE BIRDS; 17 PRESUMED; 20 PEPPER; 22 BRUSHES; 24 ACCORDS; 26 PLIANT; 27 HAIRPINS; 28 IGNOMINIOUS.

DOWN:—2 MACCABEES; 3 OMICRON; 4 TAGS; 5 NAIVETE; 6 TRACE; 7 PLUMBS; 8 RETARD; 13 STUDY; 16 IMPROMPTU; 18 RARELY; 19 MAESTRO; 20 PUCCINI; 21 ENDING; 23 SLANG; 25 THAI.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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might have got some beef stew now and then, but mostly it was fat-back, hog head, and pig's foot and red beans. And many times the meat was rotten, with maggots crawling in it." Elsewhere in the interview, he said, "I had to come up here and go to jail to learn how a human being lived. I was treated better as an inmate of Rikers Island than I was as a free man in Georgia. And I ain't even been a free man much there. I spent eighteen of my thirty-five years on chain gangs and in prisons, and I hadn't done nothing at all for three of the six times they sentenced me."—EDITORS THE NATION.]

I hardly think that any of your readers would agree that Clarence Jackson ought to be sent back to Georgia at the risk of his life merely to prove Mr. Webb's assertion about Georgia's "change of heart." Recently a federal court in Pennsylvania denied extradition in the case of a Georgia Negro wanted for murder. The decision in that case was primarily a condemnation of Georgia justice and the Georgia prison system. These humanitarian considerations were apparently not binding upon the Supreme Court of the State of New York, but they should be binding upon our higher courts.

The W. D. L. is appealing this case; to do so, funds are desperately needed. A real and vital change in the Georgia prison system may yet be effected; at this moment, however, the life of a man is at stake. What is the life of a man worth to you, readers of *The Nation?* Funds may be rushed to the Workers' Defense League, Dr. George S. Counts, Treasurer, Room 905, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York 3.

ALBERT K. HERLING, President,
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
Boston, June 21

A Fresh Breeze

Dear Sirs: It is a long time since anything with such a fresh breeze of liberalism and such a ring of integrity has hit *The Nation's* pages as Joseph Wood Krutch's Cant, Candor, and the Class War (June 4). I for one hope that this is the opening gun in a campaign to clarify basic assumptions and editorial processes of thought. There has been a sort of brown muddle for some time now.

All that has kept this old subscriber on the list are Krutch, Haggin, and the too infrequent contributions of Diana Trilling (with whom I almost never agree—does anyone?) and Margaret Marshall. More power to *The Nation's* friendly critics.

JOHN PARKE

Putney, Vt., June 6

Cold-War Casualty

Dear Sirs: "We must oppose colonialism in Asia, or the people will turn to communism"; "lynching must be stopped, or Russia will use it for malicious propaganda"; "we must support democratic movements the world over, or the Communists will claim that the United States does not believe in democracy"—everybody has heard these statements over and over. They are all true, and yet their constant use is dangerous. It is an indication of the fact that one of the main casualties of the cold war is the ethical value of democracy.

We should oppose colonialism, stop lynching, and so on for democracy's own sake, not because they may lose us a round in our precious cold war.

If it were the reactionaries who used the new line, it would not be so bad. But those who have adopted this line are almost always liberals. They have done so for two reasons:

1. They think they may force some of the conservatives to accept reform if presented in this fashion. We need a St. Lawrence Seaway for defense, health insurance so that we can be healthier than "any other nation," civil rights to counter Soviet propaganda, etc., etc., ad nauseam.

2. They are pessimists. They tacitly admit they believe the American people are hopelessly reactionary and given over to war fever, that an appeal for improvement can win support only if phrased in terms of the cold war.

What results from these tactics? Have we obtained a St. Lawrence Seaway, health insurance, or civil rights? Reactionaries remain reactionaries, and the cold-war liberals are playing into their hands. Far worse than that, they are simultaneously "de-educating" the American people, negating the New Deal.

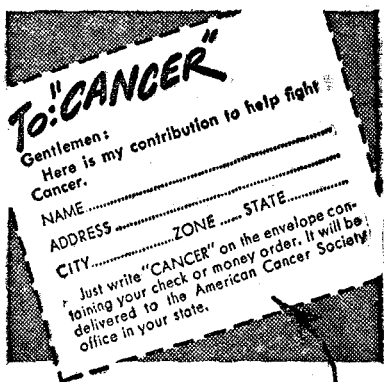
Do I exaggerate? Perhaps a little. But I remember pictures of policemen beating Stock Exchange strikers over the head, and liberal newspapers deploring the violence not because it was wrong but because the Russians were distributing copies of the photographs all over Europe.

All right, let us say it once for all issues: Wherever we fail to offer the people something better, the people may turn to communism. And then let us fight for something better, judging each case on its own merits.

Suppose tomorrow Stalin recants and returns to God, the Olympic games, and free enterprise. Or suppose the cold war simply comes to its end—what then? No more need to oppose colonialism and lynching, no more need for health insurance and civil rights? The liberal movement would be caught with its ideological pants down.

DONALD FELDSTEIN

New York, June 22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